The Future World War Act I.

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

No. 10. VOL. VIII.

SATURDAY, MAY 21st, 1921.

[WEEKLY.] PRICE TWOPENCE.

INTERNATIONAL. THE FROM

Moscow, 6th May (via Stockholm).—The Central Regulive Committee of the Communist International idresses the following letter, signed by Zinoviev ad all the members of the Executive, to all the affiliate to the Communist International:—

The Third World Congress has been summoned Moscow on June 1st. After the second Congress st of the parties have thoroughly discussed the test issued by the Executive. Almost everywhere has led to a split between the Communists and Centrists. This was the period during which Communist Parties were brought into being work which has been achieved, will have to work which has been achieved, will have to the the Communists: It will give the International final form and tactics. First on the agenda the Third Congress is the report of the Exercive Committee. This is intimately connected with campaign and the splits in many parties, which racterise the lest period. The Executive Comtet will lay a report of its conclusions before Third Congress, which must pronounce its judgent.

the second item on the agenda deals with the lid-wide economic crisis and the new aims of International. By weighing up the facts and tysing this crisis, the congress of the workers the whole world will prove the incorrectness, the reformist perception and will have to show ludicrousness of those who still believe that talism can be resuscitated.

talism can be resuscitated.

he third and fourth items on the agenda deal
he the tactics of the International during the
hution and in the interim period: United dedis, united actions and the final revolutionary
ggle. The congress will take into account the
hierences of the Russian and German workers,
those of other countries. Out of the best of
hierences of the countries. Out of the best of
his must formulate the tactics of the Comhist Parties, on the one hand free from sectionaland the mania for sensational results, on the
her hand leading to the close linking up with
hasses of the proletariat, which must remain
hierence the proletariat of the complex of the proletariat of the complex of the proletariat of the proleta

Points 5 and 6 are: The Trade Union movement, sight against the Yellow Amsterdam Interna-nal, the International of the Red Trade Unions, ere the fight will be decided between the 2nd and



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the 3rd Internationals, i.e. between proletariat and bourgeoisie. The congress will have to decide the mutual relations between the Red T.U. International and the Communist International. Much in the structure of the International of the workers' movement depends upon the decision arrived at.

All organisations must study this question and come to the Congress with the thought-out decision.

Items 7 and 8 deal with questions of the internal organisation of the parties, with the methods and tenor of their actions; with the structure of the International with its relation to its various affiliated parties. We have to examine (1) The constitution of the individual parties separately; (2)

the limits of admissible autonomy as between the members towards the Executive, and the concentration which is necessary for guiding the international struggle of the proletariat. In other words: On what bases shall the International be built up so that it may successfully fulfill its mission?

Item 9 deals with the question of the East. Whilst this was theoretically outlined at the Second Congress, we must now define it practically. Item 10 is of intrinsic importance. This is the Italian question. Under the Centrist influence, Serrati, the Congress of Legionn has refused to accept the twenty-one conditions of the Second Congress. The Communist workers have formed a Congress. The Communist workers have formed a Congress. The Communist International.

The Socialist Party of Serrati has been shut out of the Communist International. Serrati has appealed to the Third Congress against the decision. The Executive Committee willingly leaves this matter to the decision of the Third Congress. The Italian question has become of international importance through its echo in the United Communist Party of Germany. The Congress will bring full light to bear upon this matter and lead to a comprehensive solution.

The agenda deals further with the position of the Communist Workers' Party of Germany, with the Women's and Youths' movements. Finally the Executive Committee will bring up on the agenda the economic policy and conditions of Sovi t Rusia.

We call upon all parties and organia i ms which are affliated to the Communist Interna i not have mediately be taken. The Executive Committee invites all parties to send, if possible, large delegations, which should consist of one-third from the branches which are in close touch with the mass If possible, the Congress must comprise many working the Central Executive Committee expects also women and youth delegates. The decisions of the Party! The Central Executive Committee as is the parties to send reports of their activities durin the past year, so as to define the attifude of the the past year so as to define the attitude of the various parties in this connection on the agenda.

and o

HOUSE OF COMMONS AND PROPAGANDA.

The members of the House of Commons are really try much upset at the way things are going. They asked scared questions about Revolutionary ropaganda, said it was paid for from abroad, and the law was not strong enough to deal with the two they are got D.O.R.A. and the Emergency lowers Act under which no man's person or property is safe from attack by the authorities, under hich you may not express an opinion by word mouth or in writing without running the risk if six months in gaol, and still "the law at present isn't strong enough to deal with revolutionary movements in this country," according to Mr. Gwynne: What more do they want? To be able to shoot us dead at sight, because wheight hold different opinions to them, as they are doing in Ireland? Mr. Lloyd George said by had already instituted some prosecutions (which have resulted in increased numbers taking part in active propaganda). Should it be necessary to ask he House to legislate on this matter they would to so. He thought it a mistake to rush too soon not action. He believed in the good sense of he British working classes, and did not believe hey would be discredited if it was patent that to comes from foreign sources." But his faith in he insularity of the British worker is out of date. The insularity of the British worker is out of date. So many of them have been in foreign countries and have seen for themselves that there are somewher had been to keep up the general condition—(hear, ear)—to see that the mation is fed, and if the ation is fed we need not fear Communism or Bollevism or any disease of that kind." He was such more concerned with this aspect of the moment a this important topic.

Mr. Gwynne: "Are we to wait and see?"

this important topic.

Mr. Gwynne: "Are we to wait and see?"

"No, watch and pray." (Laughter.)
And, as ever under capitalism, when it is a question of benefiting the workers, it ended in laughter!

We read of men falling down from exhaustion We read of men falling down from exhaustion in the unemployed queues outside the Labour Exchanges, but what has Mr. Lloyd George done to feed them, for they have been unemployed quite long enough for him to have put the solution into operation if he has one? But Lloyd George has no solution to the question of feeding the workers properly, because there is none under Capitalism. Communism, or Bolshevism, is the cure and not the disease.

The mining question was the next problem tackled in reply to speeches by Mr. Holmes (Lib.), who proposed as a basis for settlement that until September 30th every man in the coal industry should receive his 1914 rate of wages, increased according to the index figure of the cost of living of the previous month (a fallacious figure, remember). In the event of the coalowner losing during this period he should be able to claim repayment from the Government, but the amount so repaid should not exceed the total loss, nor the difference between the amount which the coalowner had of-

On the Morning of May 30th, at 8 a.m.

Com. E. SYLVIA PANKHURST will be released from Holloway Prison.

Try to be there to send up three mighty cheers for the Cause we all have at heart. fered to pay to his workmen during the present month and the amount he would actually pay under this present scheme. If the coalowner made a profit, if the wages paid to his workmen were less than those he had offered, the coalowner should pay to the Government the difference, provided the payment did not exceed his total profit. To obviate the whole dispute beginning all over again on September 30th, he suggested that the parties to the dispute should get together and immediately resume their conferences, and if no settlement were arrived at by September 30th, that his scheme should continue according to the index figure for the previous month.

Mr. Clynes, the Labour Party leader, made a very statesmanlike speech, which you all know means trying to hoodwink the workers whilst backing up the capitalists. He wanted both parties to come together again, for he "had reached the conclusion that the miners, as a body, were in a mood to receive the guidance of their leaders in regard to the terms of settlement, if those leaders were offered terms which they felt would be equitable to the men in all the minefields." He thought changes should be made gradually by easy stages.

Ah! the old game the capitalists played so successfully during the war, when they gradually reduced the food of the workers and gradually introduced conscription and the other evils.

Mr. Victor Hartshorn showed by his speech how wise the miners had been to get rid of him, for instead of supporting their claims, he wanted more conferences, whether they had anything new to

The leader of the Industrial Workers of the World, "Big Bill" Haywood, has reached Moscow, at the invitation of the Third International. His eabled impressions give the lie to current press dope.

THE DUTY OF THE TRADE UNIONISTS TO THE UNEMPLOYED. By K. STUTTGART.

The bourgeoisie is irritating the unemployed uch as possible. Its prostitute press pictures lurid colouring a fictitious luxury enjoyed the unemployed are perishing, physically, for lack of the necessaries of life. Morally, for lack of the necessaries of life. Morally, for lack of the necessaries of life. Morally, for lack of deeds of solidarity on the part of the working masses. They are sinking to the bottom, the dregs of the reformists; but it also distinguishes the whole really revolutionary orientation from radical phraseology.

We cannot console the unemployed with the thought of the Revolution as the future El Dorado. We must associate ourselves with their position. Then the owl is dragged into the daylight, where it closes its eyes. The need of the unemployed throws light on the help-lessness of the reformists; but it also distinguishes the whole really revolutionary orientation from radical phraseology.

We cannot console the unemployed with the thought of the Revolution as the future El Dorado. We must associate ourselves with their present needs, and enter into the necessaries of life. Morally, for lack of the necessaries of life. Morally, for lack of the necessaries of life. Morally, for lack of deeds of solidarity on the part of the working masses. They are sinking to the bottom, the dregs of the reformists; but it also distinguishes the whole really revolutionary orientation from radical phraseology.

We cannot console the unemployed with the thought of the Revolution as the future El Dorado. We must associate ourselves with their present needs, and enter into the necessary.

nionists is decisive for the fate of the unem-

y the storm-wind of action. At this behaviour of the working Trade are gushing with sentiment and all kinds of pulpit

more the comfortable bourgeoise can sink peace "ully to rest on his bed of down. For him the ight of day is not darkened by the sight of the memployed, who, in defiance of all divine right, would check the bourgeoisie in matters of eating and drinking. Again the social ladder is set up, "though its bottom rung, the one on which the memployed are sitting, is sinking into the mire. What does that matter to the bourgeoisie, who its at the top and surveys from that coign of vanage the blue heaven above, and the earth beneath gay with police uniforms?

We must not minee matters: The unemployed re trailing along the ground, with their rings was the stigma used by the Trade Union bureaucrats which they are spurred, are mere! The unemployed show signs of moving. In many meetings, the reactionary Trade Union delegates by the Storm-wind of action. At this eaching Trade

The reactionary Trade Union bureaucrate the master of improving their conditions. It is not the question of the height of their present needs, and enter into the necessary measures for improving their conditions. It is not the question of the height of their demands which separates us from the majority Socialists, but chiefly the fact that they do not want to fight even for the smallest reforms, for they know that was the stigma used by the Trade Union bureaucrats work! Day by day, in the sweat of their brow, they are superior of the necessary measures for improving their conditions. It is not the question of the height of their demands which separates us from the majority Socialists, but chiefly the fact that they do not want to fight even for the smallest reforms, for they know that they are superior along the ground, with their rings and they are spurred, are mere! The unemployed show signs of moving. In many meetings, the reactionary Trade Union delegates they are the simple of their demands which separates us from the majority Socialists, but chiefly the fact that they do not want to fight even for the smallest reforms, for they know that they are th going, and they are fattening on the present system like vultures preying on carrion. This is loyed; but, on the other hand, in the future, the haviour of the unemployed will be a decisive for in the fate of the organised Trade Union asses. Declarations of sympathy, fundamental duty of solidarity—in word—aured out in paragraphs of printed matter—unemployment, right down to a definite taking system like vultures preying on carrion. This is their opportunity is their opportunity attack it with a definite aim, they must force the justion of the unemployed to an issue, for this system like vultures preying on carrion. This is their opportunity is here given to the Unions for reform policy or revolution. The Communist Trade Unionist must force the reactionary leaders on the question of the unemployed to an issue, for this is a track it with a definite aim, they must force the question of the unemployed to an issue of the unemployed to a point in the order of the day. The opportunity is here given to the Unions for reform policy or revolution. The Communist Trade Unionist must force the reactionary leaders on the question of the unemployed to an issue, for this is attack it with a definite aim, they must force the question of the unemployed to an issue of the unemployed to an issue of the organised Trade Union. The Communist Trade Unionist must force the reactionary leaders on the question of the unemployed to an issue, for this is a rock on which reaction will found to a first their opportunity in the order of the day.

ED YOUTH NOTES. By T. Islwyn Nicholas. ENGINEERS and FIREMEN SUPPORT

rice.

Blindly you will have to obey the often stupid orders of your superiors. You will have to shoot the strikers who are your brothers; you will have to shoot the strikers who are your brothers; you will have to shoot the strikers who are your brothers; you will have to shoot the strikers who are your brothers; you will have to shoot the strikers who are your brothers; you will have to obey the often stupid orders of your superiors.

with the fear of the workers.

Young soldiers, beneath your military coat you must never forget that above everything else you are a worker, conscious of the interest of your sim No. 7.

With the fear of the workers.

Young soldiers, beneath your military coat you must never forget that above everything else you are a worker, conscious of the interest of your class, the class that slaves and suffers. Young soldiers, play the part of men in the present crists.

shalt wage the class war by pointing out the barry of all recorded societies is an story of the CLASS STRUGGLE, and that the ancipation of the working-class from wage-slary must be brought about by themselves.

Lord Methuen says: "I do not think the Church all young rebels should get a copy of the official all young rebels should get a copy of the official all young rebels should get a copy of the official all young rebels should get a copy of the official all young rebels should get a copy of the official

The following resolution has been passed by the Galeshead and Newcastle joint branches of the A.S.L.E. and F.:

"That this joint meeting of A.S.L.E. and F. branches in the Gateshead and Newcastle promoting area do give our wholehearted support to the miners in their gallant struggle against accepting poverty wages. We hereby desire to link ourselves with the unofficial movement and withdraw our labour in the event of a strike on May 15th."—J. Foote (Chairman), A. Wright Secretary.

chait wage the class war by pointing out to hat wage the class war by pointing out to hatory of all recorded societies is an attribute and the class STRUCIOLE, and that the property of the Class STRUCIOLE, and that the property of the Class of the Young Robelly which was suppressed in 1917, and one of the foundation of the Young Robelly which was suppressed in 1917, and one of the foundation of the Young Socialist League. The Young a not of the State of th

OPEN LETTER TO COMRADE LENIN.

An Answer to Lenin's Brochure: "'LEFT WING' COMMUNISM: AN INFANTILE DISORDER."

May 21, 1921.

Thus in Western Europe and especially in England and Germany, the big bourgeoisie and the big easants, the middle classes and middle peasants, are ill united against the workers, through the monopoly, the banks, the trusts; through imperialism, he war, the revolution.* And, as the labour-queson encompasses all things, they are united on an encompasses all things, they are united on an encompasses.

der the ban of the great-capital. And on this general truth our tactics must be based!

Neither do I deny that there may be "rifts" yet. I only say that the general tendency is, and will be, for a long time after the revolution: unity of these classes. And I say that for the workers in Western Europe it is better to have their attention directed to that unity than to these rifts. For it is they themselves that must in the first place make the revolution, and not their leaders, their Members of Parliament.

Nor do I say that (which the little minds will make of my words) that the real interests of these classes are the same as those of the great-capital. I know that these classes are oppressed through it.

What I say is solely this:

This I will prove next:

This I will prove next:

For many years already the entire bourgeoisie, all bourgeois parties in Western Europe, also those that belong to the small peasants and middle bourgeoisie, have done nothing for the workers. And they were all of them hostile to the labour movement, and in favour of imperialism, of the war.

For years already there had not been a single party in England, in Germany, in Western Europe, that supported the workers. All were opposed to them; in all matters.**

Imperialism, colonisation, marinism and militar-im were supported by all bourgeois, also the small-ourgeois, parties. The difference between liberal

imperaism, the war, the revolution, have, she in practice, rysted together into one class all the great- and small-bourgeoise and peasant parties of Tiesten Europe, and the contract of the c

and clerical, conservative and progressive, greatand small-bourgeois, vanished.

Everything which the social-patriots, the reformists said, about the difference between the parties,
about the difference between the parties,
about the "fifts" between them, was a fraud. And
all this has now been brought forward by you,
Comrade Lenin! It was a fraud for all countries
of Western Europe. This has been best proved
in July-Angust, 1914.

At that time they were all one. And the revolution has made them even far more united in
practice. Against the revolution, and consequently
against all workers for the revolution, and consequently
against all workers for the revolution alone can
bring actual betterment to all workers, against the
revolution they all stand together without one single "rift."

And as through the war, the crisis and the revolution, all social and political questions have come
to be connected in practice with the question of

By HERMAN GORTER

the revolution, these classes in Western Europe stand together in all questions, and in opposition to the proletariat.

[In a word, the trust, the monopoly, the big banks, imperialism, the war, the revolution, have, also in practice, riveted together into one class all the great—and small-bourgeoise and peasant parties of Western Europe, against the workers.†

These trives to induce the British workers to base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on the churchilla, Liver politics on the strength workers to base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on this fraud! At the time of base their politics on the churchilla, the provide the pro

because these, your tactics of compromising with the Younger of the Younger of the Crispiens and Hendersons, with the Crispiens and Hendersons, with the Crispiens and their followers among the English Lidependents of the Opportunist Communists of the Spartacus League or the B.S.P.—because these tactics inside and outside of Parliament confuse the workers and is your duty, Comrade, to point to have said to make the workers see this rift, and take advantage of it—in such a way, of course, as not to strengthen the bourgeois parties. You cannot do this, because in the revolution thare is no rift of any importance. And it is of the time of the revolution that we speak. And it was your duty to point out that if in special cases there should be such rifts, it would be more advantage on to terropic out to direct the attention of the workers in that direction than to the general tendency towards unity.

And it was and is your duty, Comrade, before beginning to lead us, in Western Europe, to slow, and is the followers are in England, in Germany, in Western Europe, to slow, and is not direct the attention of the workers in that direction than to the general tendency towards unity.

And it was and is your duty, Comrade, before beginning to lead us, in Western Europe, to slow, and is the present conditions. Communism.

** I lack the space here to point this out that the more many the English Liderators and the Communists of the Scheidemanns and Hendersons, with the Crispiens and their followers among the English Lidependents, of the opportunist Communists of the Scheidemanns and Hendersons, with the Crispiens and their followers among the English Lidependents, of the opportunist Communists of the Scheidemanns and Hendersons, with the Communists of the Scheidemanns and Hendersons, with the Communists of the Scheidemanns and Hendersons, the English Lidependents, of the opport

Workers Dreadnought

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THE FUTURE WORLD WAR-ACT I

On May 13th, in the House of Commons, Mr. Lloyd George made what is perhaps the most important speech he has made for a very long time, concerning Silesia and what may develop out of the situation there. The miners' lock-out and the industrial unrest are insignificant matters beside it; for it deals with the excuse for the rapidly approaching world-war. There will be a readjustment of alliances; our late allies may be our enemies and our late foes our allies. The visit of the Crown Prince of Japan is intimately connected with it also.

Mr. Lloyd George said:

ight inempould ind delthou

"The problem of Silesia is the problem of peace in Europe, and the problem of peace in Europe is the problem of unrest in England."

the problem of unrest in England."

He denied Poland's claim to Silesia, which had certainly not been Polish for 600 years. The Commission which met to consider what should be done after the plebiscite was taken in Silesia, which was six to four in favour of Germany, had a majority (the British and Italian delegates) in favour of those Communes which wished to belong to Poland, going to her, and the rest of Silesia going to Germany. The French took a different view. This report was to have been considered in London, but did not arrive in time. They were about to consider it, when Korfanty raised an insurrection of the Polish population and tried to rush the situation and put us in the position of having to deal with a fait accompli. It was a complete defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, and we must deal with these things that happen with stern justice.

"If the peace of Europe is disturbed, I cannot see

"If the peace of Europe is disturbed, I cannot see what is going to happen to the world, and I am alarmed—I use the phrase quite deliberately—I am frightened."

The Polish Government repudiates responsibility, but arms and Polish officers are passing from Poland. It is a repetition of what happened at Vilna, which was given to Lithuania, but is still occupied by Polish

"The future is dark and uncertain; no one can tell what it is charged with. The only thing I venture to predict is that force will count less with the Treaty of Versailles, and that the honour and credit of Germany, her signature and bond, will count more and more. But if circumstances change, and if the power of these 60,000,000 people—very powerful as we know from experience, able, courageous and resourceful—is, I will not say regained, but becomes more vital because of the changed circumstances, it ought, and it will, count more and more."

"Germany will have the right to say to us: "You are asking us to honour our bond... What did you do when Poland defied you over Silesia? Were you equally insistent then?' I am entitled to say, and I say it solemnly to Britain and the Allies, that it is not merely a matter of honour and that, surely, is not to be despised. It is not merely a matter of security that we should show that we must adhere to that Treaty....."

He insisted that the Germans were entitled to

This sudden change of face takes one's breath away, when one thinks what a short time has elapsed since nothing was bad enough to say of the "Huns," and how the reparations must be exacted to the last farthing. But now these people must be conciliated; they are our potential allies. And not they alone but the Russians also, as the following extract shows:—

"Russia is now a broken Power, exhausted and in the hands, as I think, of a hopeless despotism, which is running the country upon impossible principles. But it is a great country; it is a country of almost inexhaustible resources, and it is peopled by a very gallant race.

That country is not going to remain as it is. Can anyone tell me what it is going to be? It will not be what it is now for long, but that it is going to be a powerful country, that it is going to be a movement to keep the Workers' Dreadnought alive?

"Russia is now a broken Power, exhausted and in the paper consists of the usual printing costs, paper, postage, and routine distribution. There is not a penny spent on the Editor's side of it. For the past years, Comrade Pankhurst gave her services free to the paper, and those who, though ill-fitted for the work have, temporarily, during her imprisonment, taken her place, have not done otherwise.

The question now arises: is it worth while to the movement to keep the Workers' Dreadnought alive?

Mr. Lloyd George stated on behalf of the Government, that whatever happens, we cannot accept a fait accompli. He threw down the gauntlet to the French and Poles, but ended up with a peroration appealing "to all concerned to do what is right, to do what is fair, to dismiss prejudices, to be upright, and

It is not surprising that Mr. Lloyd George is frightened: he is gambling in the lives of the world, and at the same time groping in the dark. He is breaking with the French, and yet is not sure of his future allies. Russia is an unknown quantity to him; he does not understand why she will be the dominant country in the world.

country in the world.

For some time past it has been the dream of the berman Monarchists to link up with the Russian Ionarchists, and when the situation is ripe, they think hey can win over the Russian workers and defy the rorld. They still have plenty of arms, and the British militarists know both these facts. Lloyd George wants to be on the winning side, and he thinks hat Great Britain, Japan, Germany and Russia (?) will be more than a match for France and America.

will be more than a match for France and America.

Remember, the Soviet Government was recognised as the de facto Government of Russia last April, when relations were strained between France and England; the judges have decided that Russian goods and money cannot be confiscated in this country, and trade is to be resumed. It is a market we need, and may be an ally we need very soon, for events move very rapidly these days.

But there is just one little factor Mr. Lloyd George does not seem to have taken into account, and that is, what attitude will the workers take up? Will they be deluded into a world-war by talk of "British honour," to defend German rights this time? Will they think it better to be killed in the trenches than to die of starvation in unemployment? Or will they upset all these diplomatic plans and decide the fate of nations themselves?

We wonder!

MONEY AND PLAIN TALKS TO COMMUNISTS.

In our last issue we stated that unless we received the sum of £30 from voluntary subscribers, we should be forced to cease publication.

We wrote those few lines with an aching heart. They appeared in small type, yet good enough for friends

Anybody conversant with the production of a paper, be it weekly or daily, knows that no paper can live on its own sales unless it carries advertisements.

Take away the advertisements from the Daily Mail and it would cease publication within a fortnight unless the "Carlton" came to the rescue.

unless the "Carlton" came to the rescue.

It is more so with a paper that defends a Cause, that fights for a Cause.

There is only a certain class of advertisement that we could carry: books, workers' needs, notices for the co-operative movement, etc.

A great many advertisements we should naturally refuse.

Therefore, it plainly follows that our press must be "subsidised."

"subsidised."

This subsidy can only come from those who are fully in sympathy with our work. We have no "secret funds." We do not engineer campaigns, that would finally pay. We are not alone in that; it is the position of all the Communist, of all the honest

Therefore, the fact is: we must be subsidised.

For many months the Workers' Preadnought has been run at a loss. We do not blame our comrades. We probably failed to make the paper interesting enough for them; we were probably too theoretical; aye, probably we gave the reader too much small print, whereas modern conditions, factory conditions

required.

Be it as it may, the Workers' Dreadnought has been run for the last months by comrades who gave all they possibly could to keep it afloat.

Our appeal for funds is an appeal from friends to friends; from co-workers to co-workers.

It is just as well, at this juncture, to state that the expenses of production of the paper consists of the usual printing costs, paper, postage, and routine distribution. There is mot a penny spent on the Editor's side of it. For the past years, Comrade Pankhurst gave her services free to the paper, and those who, though ill-fitted for the work have, temporarily, during her imprisonment, taken her place, have not done

May 21, 192

There is the question of "foreign money always so when the workers' movement tak

turn.
We are inclined to believe that there are

interests there.
Capital, in its various forms of exploitat not know frontiers. The provincial press is full of talk of foreigning for "Red" propagands

Special compliment.
Yet we are fully aware, and we openly disthat, a shilling from a factory girl, say of would carry more weight, in so far as it wo from one who is actually suffering under the s

is from which we suffer.

one, we hope, would charge us —on this
ing biassed by a national or race prejudic
a matter of fact, we are constantly ry
from foreign parts. Owing to the wid
English language, there are a great nu
bscribers who live abroad—some of them
ibutors—and who are very keen on
subs, up to date.

there is another explanation we owe to oult to our comrades.

During our "interimate," viz., after alkhurst had gone to prison, a change took sub-title of the Workers' Dreadnought. It is due, both to our supporters and to akhurst, to let it be known—since it is rely Party knowledge—that such change we the following letter of the then Secretar manufactures.

would ask you, therefore, to remove be adnought Front Page, Editorial Page, Bit bottom of Back Page, the intimation orders' Dreadnought is the official organity or is published by the Party. Although this letter was sent to all branchmer Communist Party, whilst Comrade F "away," and, of course, unable to clear is not argued that it did affect our circulant of fact we took it as an ill-graced arades who thought, in their earnestness, the property of the prope

doing the right thing.

We publish it to-day without rancour or space will be given to the members of that C if they feel the need for a response.

We ask your support.
We do so—paradoxically as it may seem trength of our failures.
This is the paper we should have liked to uccel, and failed, to a great extent, owing to



By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Ideas for Red Army—Lefebre, who died in the Artic Sea—The British Delegation—"This has not been said before"-A new rig-out of Clothes for our "Leaders"-A fire in the train-The Polish War.

meals a day. This was the dinner served to all the island visitors on that day.

The visitors come normally for two weeks, but if they are in poor health they may stay a third week. If their health is not then restored they may go to a sanatorium where they may stay up to six months if necessary. Over 4,000 workers were accommodated at one time in the islands during the summer of 1920, and arrangements are being made to house still larger numbers during 1921. Visitors come in the winter also, but only some of the houses possess the necessary heating facilities.

Many stories have been told of the destruction wrought by the revolutionary proletariat, but no one can fail to be struck by the perfect preservation and the absolute cleanliness of these nouses, built for the occupation of a few people and their servants and now tenanted by a numerous stream of people such as was never contemplated by the architects. The delicate fabrics are everywhere unspotted; the polished furni-ture shows no scratch. In rooms that are much used, for meals, concerts and so on, there are loose washing covers on the chairs, but in most cases the original upholstery is uncovered, and is entirely like new. Again and again Stephanoff calls our attention to the fact that the in-mates of the houses are genuine proletarians.

The visitors do no house work of any kind. The servants who wait at table and undertake the other domestic duties, are on duty during sixteen hours one day, and have the next completely free. This arrangement they have substituted for the eight-hour working day by their own choice. On the alternate days when they are nominally on duty for sixteen hours, they of course do what is necessary in the house from morning till night; but they are actually working the entire day through.

Our guides enquired with anxious solicitude as to the health of a lovely dark girl with a scarlet handkerchief adorning her long black hair. All dimpling with smiles, she assured them she was well. She had taken part in a hair. All dimpling with smiles, she assured them she was well. She had taken part in a "Subbotnik" (Saturday volunteer work) a fortnight before. The work had been piling wood, and a log, falling upon her head, had knocked her senseless for a time. Therefore she had been sent to the islands for three weeks'

The Saturday work parties, in which volunteers gather to do any necessary work they can, frequently devote themselves to the essential and simple task of carting wood fuel. From this circumstance has probably arisen some of the many stories about dressmakers being set to

The Subbotniki were originally started for members of the Communist Party, but in Petrograd the great mass of the workers join them. Foreigners passing through the city on a Saturday afternoon, are surprised to find themselves jeered at for not being at work.

> CHAPTER XVI At a Camouflage School.

really a genial compulsion, and with laughing chatter about proletarian discipline, they dragged Comrade Raymond Lefebre of France, Comrade Steinhardt of Austria, and myself into a motor car and drove off at a mad pace. The interpreter and moving spirit in the escapade was a Swiss comrade who had attached himself to the Red Army. As the car dashed along, jolting over the rough road, the glass wind screen in front was suddenly broken, cutting the face of the Swiss comrade who sat on another soldier's knees. The blood gushed out and poured down his face and neck in thick streams; he wiped it off unanders struggle of the German Communists.

After the meeting an entertainment was given by artistes from the principal theatres of Moscow. There was a seene from King Lear, songs and recitations of which was put on as a deconcerned. I had imagined that the meeting would be close at hand; but to my surprise, the went speeding away out of Moscow by the high road from whence Napoleon with his advancing times a week. troops first gazed upon that city.

At last we stopped, in a pleasant birch grove, before a wooden chalet curiously ornamented with painted carving. The chalet was quaintly and very comfortably furnished. A large hall, lit from the roof, and with a gallery, seemed to me like a studio. We learnt that this had been a millionistic. a millionaire's pleasure house and was now a Red Army camouflage school.

In a cosy little room we found a party of young officers seated at a table eating bread and jam. They invited us to join them, and set before us glasses of Kvass, a drink made from rye bread, which tastes and looks rather sour, weak red wine. The young men seemed jubilant at having Kvass to give us, and anxious to hear us say that we liked it. They were so full of joking excitement that I guessed there was some little mystery about the drink and that it had the savour attaching to forbidden fruit, when the peccadillo incurred for procuring it is not too serious. I asked whether Kvass was intoxicating, and with bursts of laughter some of our hosts declared it was not, whilst others sa'd one could manage to get drunk on it if one drank a great many bottles. I learnt afterwards that the making of Kvass was prohibited, on the

The little repast we had shared was like the Norwegian "bread and butter" which precedes rest. She had completely recovered, and was enjoying herself immensely. If the incident came to the ears of any counter-revolutionary grumblers, it has probably given rise to a serious which precedes the real meal. We had barely finished it when a simple but good and substantial supper was brought in. There was a bottle for each one of us of some sort of drink made from pears, which the real meal. We had barely finished it when a simple but good and substantial supper was brought in. There was a bottle for each one of we were told was not intoxicating, and which

Several times I asked whether there really would be a meeting, for the night was wearing on. Our hosts always laughingly replied that it would take place in good time. Finally they the many stories about dressmakers being set to led us round the house to a clearing surrounded carry wood, and round holes being filled with by fir trees. Here, ranged in front of a little stage, were rows of wooden benches; children occupied the front seats, and behind them were women and men, both soldiers and civilians.

A Soldiers' Theatre.

The charming little proscenium and all the scenery and equipment of the stage were the work of the soldiers of the camouflage school. We sat amongst the children, who quickly made knows that friends with us, until the lingering light faded an armed truce, and that whilst Communist and the tardy twilight began to fall. Then we capitalist governments exist side by side,

Everyone on the islands has five substantial meeting where Trotsky spoke, when some young meals a day. This was the dinner served to all he island visitors on that day.

The visitors come normally for two weeks,

Trefused, but with an insistence that was in the property of the property unable to comprehend a single sentence of French or English, but he agreed to do his best. He afterwards informed Comrade Lefebre ar myself that he had composed good speeches t.
us, though he did not quite know what we had said. Comrade Steinhardt spoke in German; large proportion of the audience obviously unde stood and warmly applauded him. The

terrent from alcohol. Such entertainments for the soldiers and people of the district were given

Educating the Red Army.

The arrangements for entertaining and ed a single travelling library. By December 1919, there were 3,800 Army schools for political and general instruction, 1,315 clubs and 2,392 travelling libraries. During 1920, these intuitions have been still further extended.

Trotsky, in reporting to the All-Ruist gress of Soviets, on December 7th, clared that the educational work in the would send the soldiers back t and workshops head and shoulders above und

In addition to the Army schools for genera culture, there are numbers of Red Army school of military technique. Workers from t' factories and villages take courses wh After experience in the fighting detachment the more able pass through a higher military school and become commanders of regiments and brigades. The most able are then selected study at the general staff academy and academ of artillery and engineering. Some of the bes-officers, however, have passed through no military school; they have gained their knowledge by experience in fighting for the Revolution. by experience in fighting for the Revolution. Some officers have come over from the Czar's régime. Working with the last, there is always a Commy ist politique commissary, not merely to preven any the soldiers the revolutionary enthusiasm which is an enormous asset to the Red traces. The old state will trace to the Red troops. The old-style military commanders, in many cases, admit the value of the political commissaries and their propaganda. Trotsky reported that when inspecting a regiment at Zerkoff in 1919, he found that a quarter of the officers were Mensheviki. They were brave fighters, but when any hitch or dissatisthey desired victory, always asked for more Com-munist agitators and literature to be sent to the

Soviet Russia continually hopes and strives for peace with the capitalist aggressors; but it knows that such a peace could be no more than an armed truce, and that whilst Communist and The audience were streaming out of the great were asked to mount the stage, illuminated with may break out at any moment. Therefore, if chalet till day, but Lefebre and I 'nsisted on returning to Moscow. The motor had broken down, so we were obliged to make a slow journey through the night in a horse-drawn carriage.

A Counter-Revolutionary.

"These two comrades will go with you," said our hosts, as a young soldier and a man of middle age climbed up and sat opposite to us. Lefebre soon fell asleep, and as we drove home in the early morning hours, the elder man opposite, an artist employed to teach camouflage to the Red soldiers, made a vigorous attempt to prejudice me against Communism and the Communists, cynically explaining his hostility by the phrase: "I am s," as though that fact were an all-suffi-

Communist friends to whom we related the incident, dismissed it as unimportant. "Many bourgeois technicians sell their skill to us at the highest possible price, give us as little service as they can, and slander us all the time. Their abuse does not matter.'

CHAPTER XVII. What Russia thought of the British Labour

Delegation. How the Delegation got Soviet Clothes

The official British Labour Delegation to Russia has not left behind it an imposing impression. All sorts of humourous anecdotes are told at its expense. In recording some of these, it must be understood that I am not disclosing official condences, but the current talk of Moscow, in which I fancy there is more than the proverbial grain of

It is said that when met on the frontier by Melanchansky and other Russian Trade Union officials, the British delegates, with high pomposity, declared that they would only consent to visit Russia on condition that they were able to o where they pleased, and to see what and whom se, without interference. Melanchansky a jovial fellow, has, nevertheless, an iron will and a keen sense of the dignity of the Soviet Republic. Doubtless it was with a very scathing politeness that he told 'he Labour delegates they might go where they pleased, but they would be treated as guests and not as judges.

When the British delegates discovered that Melanchaneky and his collegates.

Melanchansky and his colleagues were staying in the same hotel with them, Tom Shaw and some of the others declared that they would immediately return to England, as they considered that Melanchansky was placed there to keep them nder observation. Melanchansky had to explain that Soviet Sussia does not keep numbers of guest ses half empty for passing strangers, and that both they and he were staying in the only house available for visitors. The delegates' curiosity as to what could be seen in Soviet Russia was evidently strong enough to make the explanation Cheka, but this may be a joke.

The Soviet Government not wishing to receive the British Labour delegates as its guests, they were called the guests of the Russian Trade Unions. A number of banquets and other functions were arranged to welcome them. The Russians there deliberately incited the British to respond to the toasts, in order that they might nmit themselves to public statements regarding Soviet Russia, before returning to the chilly atmosphere of capitalist Britain. There seems to have been an understanding, either expressed or implied, that no member of the delegation should make a statement except by general agreement. But the opportunities for making speeches to big enthusiastic crowds under picturesque circum-stances, proved irresistible to some members of the delegation. Once on their feet, their caution was thrown to the winds, and they gave utterance to more cordial expressions of friendship silent members of the delegation were prepared to anded that there should be no more speech- tionary church.

peace is concluded, it is intended to send the making and no more individual expressions of soldiers of the Red Army back to agriculture and opinion. But the flow of British Trade Union oratory could not be stopped, and even the silent members were soon making speeches. Philip Snowden proved one of the most obstinvilling atmosphere. She bolstered up her original The Red soldiers urged us to remain at the projudices by visits to counter-revolutionalies bury: "He does not understand; his mind and the projudices by visits to counter-revolutionalies bury: "He does not understand; his mind and anti-Communists, who supplied her with a old." But they regard him as a sincere may be and a sincere may be a since jumble of feeble and mutually conflicting stories, which she has recently published in book form. most of the working people in Britain own their own houses, and that the bourgeoisie are the man sufferers from poverty in this country. What she actually meant is probably conveyed in this

passage from her book on Russia:-"Most of the organised workers of Great Britain (and probably America) possess a little property, if it is only the dividend they draw from the Co-operative Stores. The illiterate man or woman is practically unknown among them. Their children enjoy free education, Their cities are organised and comparatively healthy. With the power of the franchise and the industrial power of their trade organisation, they can achieve any reform they may desire. They possess a tradition of freedom of conscience, of speech, of Press, of general living, which no tyrant in office would dare long and without good cause to defy."

Russian workers who had spent long years of exile in the dismal quarters of British cities, realised the falsity of such statements.

When the British Labour Delegation was in

Russia, it was high summer, and the heat was almost unendurable. Perhaps this was why the members of the delegation accepted as a gift from the Soviet authorities a complete rig out of new clothes. But knowing that they did so, and days. remembering the great heat of the season, one

"Those dear Russian people thought we were attired like princes . . . They patted and stroked our dresses and coats. They turned longing eyes upon our boots . . . I gave the girl who looked after my room a warm woollen jacket, and she fell on her knees and covered

my hands with kisses . . . "
"One thinks of . . . how much comfort an old flannel nightdress gave to a sick " woman.

Captain Guest was regarded in Russia as exceedingly hostile to Communism and the Soviets. His professions of pacifism and of regret that Soviet Rusia should possess an army, and should use it to defend herself from attack, were regarded as specially hypocritical coming from one who used a British military title and had assisted in the work of the great capitalist War. Several persons my first visit. independently reported to the Cheka the opinion that the conduct of Captain Guest was suspicious. They urged that he was possibly a secret agent of the British Government, and asked that he should be kept under observation. It is said that he was accordingly watched by agents of the

In the first days of their arrival, the British Labour delegates declared that they wanted to have just the same rations as the ordinary workers. "No, no," they were told, "you are not used to such a plain diet. You could not stand it; one has to come down to it gradually.

But the delegates persisted, and finally had they made no more requests to live like other people

As to the decoration said to have been granted to Robert Williams for "service for direct action on the home front," Moscow gossip says that this was not the "Order of the Red Flag,"

but a simple badge that anyone may wear. George Lansbury's first telegram to England from Soviet Russia was received by Revolutionary Russia with amazement. It is regarded as extraordinary that a man who is supposed to be a leader of British progress and enlightenment, should single out as the first matter for rejoicing, the fact that, though bread may be lacking, there over the world by the Soviet wireless. It is said that in consequence, there were meetings amongst the delegation, and those who had not spoken and superstition under the influence of the reac

When Lansbury, in addressing a prole audience, appealed for the display of bro love towards all men, the interpreter trans ing the counter-revolution. When the cha explained to him, Lansbury took it in go

May 21, 192

The young Russian Communists say of

CHAPTER XVIII. A Fire in the Train.

During the night journey between Mosco Petrograd, I was thinking sleepily: "I am have a sore eye; what a nuisance!" fellow passenger jumped down from an

"There's a fire in the train! The st would have suffocated me if I'd stayed

A shower of sparks and glowing charcoal past the windows on either hand, and as the of our compartment was opened the smok We gasped for breath, pouring in. We gasped for breath, ou streamed with tears and smarted horribly struggled to find our clothes. The train on for a few seconds and then stopped. with bundles in their arms dashed past jumped down on to the line. We stood stones and grass beside the track for ha hour whilst a hose-pipe sprayed water train, and one carriage was removed. It has impossible to dress; the smoke was too suffor and painful: one was lucky if one mana put on a coat and a pair of shoes. pleasant. It might have meant getting death of cold in mid-winter. As it was, I chill from it, which kept me in bed for

received a little sceptically such phrases as these in Mrs. Snowden's account of her visit there:—

Owing to shortage of lubricating oil, the become red-hot, causing the wooden carria

Later, when we were travelling back to mansk, the white metal in the bearin the engine, again, for lack of lubricating then had to be packed with cotton waste, esulted in constant stoppages and much We passed in the night, many forest fires charcoal flying from the engines constru-burning, not wood but oil or coal; anoth of the blockade and the counter-revolu

I found " Red " Petrograd hungrier th

"This is the worst month of the vear told me. I felt that wish was father to the th that September would prove the hungriest

The shortage of medicine was bro me. Kind Mrs. Pelman, at the Hotel Intional, sent for the doctor (whose services of nothing), and it transpired, incidentally, t stock of medicine at the hotel was at an end. " Hot milk would do you said Mrs. Pelman, " but I can't get any for

CHAPTER XIX. What and where is the Shortage.

From Murmansk to Petrograd, from Pet o Moscow, and in the surrounding cou was constantly impressed by the healthy happy appearance of the people, especia young. Their carriage was upright, their shone, and they displayed a strong steady pe any sort of delay or disc goods wagons of passing trains were crowd people whose legs hung dangling over the Men, women, and youngsters sat on the s the passenger carriages, singing and merrily. There was talk of the food sh but one saw little sign of it in the people, physical condition was infinitely superior of the Germans as I saw them in Berlin, Fr and Stuttgart in December, 1919, 1920. The German workers looked patiened, hopeless and discontented. An exp of weary peevishness and despair was c amongst the faces I met by the way and ed together in public meetings. There was ing strange to me in such faces. In Germany were at that time more general; but abound also in British cities. They are where about me in the East End of London. I take the 'bus in the morning and look on the women in the crowded market I can seldom discover one of them who marred by gnawing anxiety, chronic under-shment and lack of health. When I chanced crowd of Frankfort children going into I was shocked to see at least a third of seriously deformed by rickets, and hardly d unblemished by mal-nutrition. It was a inched faces and bulging foreheads. Rickwasting babies are one of the commonest of East London, but I was not used to

Russia, on the other hand, I brought with me a prevailing memory of beautiful, grown children and healthy people.

appears that a happy contentment and confident enthusiasm is radiating from tive makers of the revolution and builders proletarian State, to wider and wider secouched by it, it seems that all have been utermost fringe with the poor of other

is not the exaltation of revolutionary al well-being, it must be the freedom from dual anxiety, which the absolute assurance n a low minimum scale of food, clothing ther necessaries provides. Perhaps both ings operate together.

s constantly said that clothing is scarce in , but people, in the mass, appear much clad than in other countries. Most people l-dressed, with a refreshing, graceful sim-At the great theatre meeting in Moscow, celebrated the close of the Third Interna-Congress, almost all the men and women Hardly a woman had a hat. No one was or untidy; no one was dirty. The ng of clothes, and the supply of half the in ready-made garments, has certainly pro-an effect that any artist would welcome. er, the rationing is wiping out class dis. ons in dress. Some women, even Com-ts, still wear fussy, unpractical garments, aserviceable, foot-deforming shoes with high and exaggerately pointed or crumpled toes. mmunism, there will be probably always opinion against making things to wear unserviceable or entail the expenditure extravagant amount of labour. compels that factory-made clothes shall

trading in clothing, as in many other dities, still continues. Goods that were away in the early days of the revolution being produced for sale. Probably, too, en smuggling by counter-revolution. to counter-revolutionaries across the

the summer theatre when Chaliapine, who is the revolution, sang in "Boris Goudenn audience of peorle in Russian blouses
to hear him. Ploletarian boys and girls
eir seats and ran to the front of the audiapplaud him at the close of every act. nday night at the ballet, in which the were said to be revolutionary, members old bourgeoisie half-filled the theatre, the gorgeously dressed and in the latest styles, sees people riding into Moscow from 'he farmers' carts, with worn shoes and clothing; one also sees people shabbily, who live in Moscow and Petrograd; bark re still worn in the country, and canvas ith wooden soles are used to substitute but the general impression left by all nerous crowds that passed before my eyes, people, in the main, comfortably clad.

harrowing pictures of poverty and famine others tell of I did not see; but I am left opinion that there is undoubtedly an fortable shortage of some things in some

Petrograd was certainly short of food; Moscow, Murmansk, and the Northern villages were short of some kinds of food. In some districts, however, food was abundant.

Shortage of transport is one of Russia's main difficulties now that the Red Army has won back the rich territories which were cut off from her by the native and foreign counter-revolutionaries. The transport difficulties are at once patent to anyone who visits Russia. The fact that Russia is a vast agricultural country that hitherto has only developed industrialism on a small scale and is cut off from the manufactured products of other countries, is the greatest cause of shortage, and incidentally includes the transport difficulty also The fact that Russia's production, both agricultural and industrial, has hitherto been remark ably low, having regard to her size, population and resources, must be borne in mind.

J. Larin, the well-known Soviet economist, estimates that the output of manufactured goods in Soviet Russia in the year 1919-1920 was only 20 per cent. of the pre-war average. His estimate of the agricultural production is also low.

I find it exceedingly difficult to accept statistical estimates regarding Russia, especially in regard to agricultural production, because exact statistics were not a feature of Russian life before the Revolution, and even yet it seems impossible that exact statistics can be obtained about Russia's agricultural production. It is notorious that the peasants conceal a considerable proportion of their produce. Larin himself admits it in hi The cruel terrorism of the old landlord and tax collector was undoubtedly able to for more from the peasants than the Government of the Peasants' and Workers' Soviets could would do. The peasants, who are the vast majority of the Russian people, be it remembered. have enormously benefited by the Russian Revo-

Larin further says, that between 1908 and 1916, the daily average food standard for an adult working-man in Russia was 3,289 calories, and that, at the beginning of 1920 the workman's daily average of food calories was 2,980. Happily, a woman had a hat. No one was titdy; no one was dirty. The lothes, and the supply of half the comparative guess. The sources of supply from the private trader and from relatives in the country, now open to the Russian worker, are probably underrated in the estimate. They cannot possibly be checked exactly.

Comrade Fineberg, who left London for Russia during the Revolution, told me when I saw him in Moscow that one of the things which impressed him most about life in Russian cities was that most of the proletarian families there had friends in the country who sent them regular supplies of food. I do not know whether, in judging that the Russian workman before the war had an average of 3,280 calories, allowance was made for the periods at which, through sickwas made for the periods at which, through sick-ness, unemployment, or short time, his wages were reduced, and with it the amount of his daily calories. I do not know whether any allowance was made for the burden cast upon the worker of supporting sick, aged or unemployed relatives, and the consequent reduction in his food.

The great boon which the Soviets have brought to the Russian workers is the security that whatever food and clothing Russia has, they will have a share of it

The fact that all the children's food is free is in itself a wonderful thing to have brought into the world. Free feeding for the children of Petrograd began in May, 1918, at first for the children up to fourteen years, and later, for those up to sixteen. By June 16th, 1919, 80 per cent of the Petrograd children were taking free meals in the trograd restaurants.

Nursing mothers still work in the Russian factories, but they are liberated on full pay for eight weeks before and eight weeks after birth. They have an additional grant to the value of a fortnight's minimum pay at the time of the inement, and their pay is increased by onefourth during the nursing period of nine months.

Invalids are entitled to free cure and maintenance at full pay during illness. During disablement they are entitled to the full average

nimum pay of the district for a 60 per cent. disablement; to a three-quarter's pay for a 45 to 60 per cent. disablement; half pay for a 30 to 45 per cent. disablement. The family of a deceased worker is entitled to pension. One dependent gets 60 per cent, of the worker's min um pay, two dependants get 75 per cent., and three or more get 100 per cent,

Soldiers' pensions are on the same basis as those of the industrial workers; widows and children of the soldiers get the same pension as the Red soldiers

Victims of the counter-revolution are also compensated.

CHAPTER XX. The Polish War.

Soviet Russia thrilled with confident expectation that Warsaw would fall to the Red Army, that the Polish workers and peasants would rally to the Red flag, and a Polish Soviet Government would be established straight away. Communist Poland would then form both the link with Comnunist Russia and the bulwark against attack by Entente Capitalism, which were necessary to secure a successful Communist revolution in Germany and Austria. Revolutions in Italy and the Balkan States would immediately follow, and with the greater part of Europe already submerged by the Red tide, the world proletarian revolution would go marching forward.

This was the news which greeted me when I reached Russia in the first days of August, 1920. Already, on July 31st, a revolutionary committee had been set up in Poland. Its members were as familiar and popular in Soviet Russia as in their native land. Its president was Marchlevsky (Karsky), an old colleague of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Yogehes, the story of whose lives he recently wrote for the Moscow "Communist International." Marchlevsky had actually poken in Moscow a few days ago at the Second Congress of the Third International, he and the other Polish delegates had now hastened away to Poland, leaving the Congress still in session.

Other members of the Polish Revolution mittee were Dzerjinsky, organiser and president of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Combatting the Counter-Revolution, Unschlicht, a famous Commissary of Food in Soviet Russia, and Felix Kohn, one of the most learned Polish Communists, and a leader of the Left Socialist Party called the "Levitsa."

The Russian Red Army was advancing through Poland with the watchword: " For our Freedom and Yours!"

The Polish Revolutionary Committee.

The Polish Revolutionary Committee issued a manifesto hailing the advance, announcing the fulfilment of the dreams of those Polish Revolutionary heroes who threw themselves into the struggle against Russian Czarism, to free, not merely the Polish people, but the Russians also. The manifesto proceeded :-

" A secure peace is only possible between a Communist Russia and a Communist Poland governed by Workers' Councils. The factories and mines must be wrenched from the hands of capitalist speculators and usurers, and handed over to Workers' Committees. The and and the forests must also be owned and administered by the people. The landlords must be expelled, and their estates administered by committees of agricultural workers, whilst the soil of the peasants who work their own land shall remain untouched. In the cities the power is already passing into the hands of the workers' delegates; in the villages, provisional councils of workers are being formed. As soon as the Government which plunged the country into this criminal war has thrown, the Councils of workers' delegates from villages and the towns will establish in all

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A FURTHER REPLY TO WARD NEWTON.

WARD NEWTON.

To the Mitor.

See our Comrade Ward Newton in his "Industrial tings" of May 7th replies to my letter in the readnought" of April 30th. His point is much re clear to me now. Our Comrade's contention is it industrial unions make for strength, and craft ons tend towards weakness. I would agree with an were it not for the fact that I have some ring instances in my mind of the much-vaunted ty being unity in theory only. When the time nes for unity and solidarity we generally find only among many of the industrial unions. To rean instance: In July 1919, there was an unofficient of the seed of the laway workers upon this particular system, but we especially the locomotive fraternity. I was member of the all-grades union at that times hat was the position? I found that the fight is being waged by a gallant little body of about 100 members of the locomotive fraternity with the or no assistance from the other grades, in ite of the fact that all were in the same of misation (N.U.R.). In spite of the fact that the her grades were directly affected by the unjust test by remained at work. However, the fight ended eccessfully for the workers and remains as an estance of what a few determined men can do against a mass of workers who were at log-arrheads with one another.

The could go on relating many similar cases affectly other big unions, but I think our Comrade at large with me in this case at any rate that much-vaunted unity was a delusion and a spare, and was the means of a great many of the locomotive aternity turning over to the A.S.L.E. and F. But, a large with me in the past a member of a large and as a Communist, had many good reasons for leaving it. I would not prefer to be among a body of strong, deterined Trade Unionists that remain in an organisation, the member of which are driven about willy ally by selfishness and blind, implicit faith invalid to manage its own business," by the S.L.E. and F. I must say to him that the best

As to our Comrade's remark, re "narrow deterination to manage its own business," by the S.L.E. and F., I must say to him that the best reon to manage Ward Newton's business is Ward ton, and the same applies to the A.S.L.E. and They do the best for themselves, and surely up to other organisations to do the same, if the same of th

D TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

To the Editor.

To the Editor.

To the Editor.

Dear Editor.—Reading through your report of e Red Trade Union International Conference, which ook place at Friar's Hall on May 7th, I notice that there undoubtedly exists some confusion with he above and the Third (Communist) International. Mr. W. J. Webb, of the E.T.U., who evidently has nis heart in the right place (as he puts it), in seconding the resolution calling on the Trades Union Longress to sever its connection with Amsterdam, t.c., and to take immediate steps to be represented at the first congress of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow, on July 1st; and further stated that his union was holding a Rules Revision Conference, one of the items being affiliation to the International. I believe affiliation to the International. I believe affiliation to the latter is exclusive to the Communist Parties of all countries who accept and adhere to the Statutes, Thesis, etc., they being the political party of the proletariat, through which we hope to shape and mould the machinery necessary to impose the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The R.T.U.I., when its rules and policy is finally settled on July 1st, will organise the masses in their millions on the industrial field on a class-conscious basis, thereby creating the economic power from which the Communist Parties will function. Recent events vividly demonstrated the need for a strong industrial international as a fighting weapon for the workers, which in due course, in conjunction with the Third (Communist) International will, as Engels states: "Transport the Capitalist State into the museum of antiquities, next to the spinning wheel and the bronze axe. This condition of society, without the State, is Communism." I sincerely hope this will not be taken as a criticism of the London Conference in any way, but I, in my humble way, feel that

we should be quite clear as regards the relationship between these two internationals. The E.C. of the Communist Party of Great Britain pointed out in a circular to branches a few weeks ago that while they were working in harmony to the full-est extent, the two organisations were not one and the same." This proves that they, too, evidently wished to be quite clear on this point, as it is just possible that some who may even be delegates would have some misapprehension, and also that members of unions who affiliate may take it for granted that they automatically become members of the Communist Party (in fact, cases now could be cited), but this is not so.

Birmingham.

EWe would refer our correspondent to items 5

[We would refer our correspondent to items and 6 on the Agenda of the Third Congress the Communist International re relationship betwee the Communist International and the Red T.U. I ternational. This matter has yet to be decided.

MONEY AND PLAIN TALKS (Cont. from p. 4).

MONEY AND PLAIN TALKS (Cont. from p. 4).
from an orgy of Imperialism; other countries, too, where the class-struggle is to the fore.

Not casual bits of information, but a series of articles enabling the British workers to get a true perspective. At home—the financial and political interests still playing their powerful game of chess for clique supremacy, for the enslavement of the workers, and that, in spite of many of our too-confident comrades, who lull themselves in the unfounded belief that Capitalism is tottering to its fall, of its own weakness. A steady educational work on the need of strong Party organisation.

A fearless criticism of the present-day Trade Unions, which, whilst able to resist, and not even that in all cases, wage reductions, have not yet the prescience to organise rapidly and revolutionarily for a wageless state of society.

In brief lines, such is the work—educational and yet, we think, highly revolutionary—we had set out to achieve.

** * * * *

You can make mistakes whilst you are living; you can't talk after death. Pardon the utter common place and vulgarity of this sentence.

A paper, to improve, must live.

Live we shall, if, besides financial assistance, Comrades will give us—who are no better than they are and are not preaching from a high pulpit, still less from an ivory tower—the assistance of their experience—their criticism—aye, their friendly criticism and some times of their patience.

their criticism—aye, their friendly criticism and some-times of their patience.

You know the story:
Some one with a liver not working properly, grumbled one day at the cumber-some title of our paper.

"Never mind," said Comrade Pankhurst, "when we go down, we'll come up once more and call it the "Workers' Mate.'"

WELCOME TO SYLVIA PANKHURST.

All members of the Communist Fars, and the who wish to welcome Sylvia Pankhurst on her release who wish to welcome Sylvia Pankhurst on her release from Holloway, should apply to E. Cant, International Socialist Club, 28, East Road, City Road, N.1., for tickets (free) for the Reception at the above address on Monday, May 30th, at 7.30 p.m.

A rally will be held on the same day outside Holloway Gaol at 7.45 a.m.

Approximate figures at the time of going to press. The final results may vary between the two sets of figures indicated below:—

Mini	mum.	Maxin	num.
Governmental bloc	240		285
			110
Socialists	- 00		
Popular Party (Catholics and			-
landowners)	90		107
Communists	10		15
Communists	10		15
Republicans (capitalists)	10	***	10
Fascisti (White Guards: extreme			
reactionaries)	20		35
Teactionaries)	10		13
Ex-Servicemen	10		
Slavo-Germans (from newly-			
conquered provinces)	10		11

Mr. J. H. THOMAS.

Mr. J. H. THOMAS.

Mr. J. H. Thomas says that American Labour is 50 years behind British Labour, and yet the British workers have never given him the reception he received from the American workers. He was greeted on landing with boos and jeers because he had caused disruption in the Triple Alliance, and banners bearing such inscriptions as: "Thomas Fleeing from the Wrath of England"; "Judas Hanged Himself after Betrayal. Will Thomas Follow Suit?" He had to escape in a goods lift.

The Americans do not only pass resolutions, they are up doing!

A SUGGESTION.

Chandler says:—

"Be bold! Get out a special number at the time of Miss Pankhurst's release. Something quite out of the common, and get a splash advertisement in the Daily Herald. This helped The Communist and should help you.

"You may be surprised at the number of people who have never heard of the Workers' Dreadnought, and many of these, Daily Herald readers."



OUR BOOKSHELF.

"THE YOUNG WORKER.

onthly organ of the Young Workers' League. 2, Fleet Street, E.C. 4. 3d.)

It is just as easy to get children to wave a red flag as a tricolour one: it is a matter of emotion, affecting us as the military brass band that set all feet a-tramping. It is another matter to instil in young minds ideas that will grow and germinate into a permanent sense of justice and a strong will to see that ideal put into daily practice.

Francisco Ferrer, a pioneer of revolutionary education, was shot years ago by the reactionary classes of Spain. In the stress and difficulty surrounding the working-class movement, he was one of the first oemphasize the need of education—free from capitalist bias—for the young generation. This work is at the same time most useful and traily difficult. It requires not only patience, but great psychological insight. It is a work of great responsibility.

Modern society, which has created the slums and their depressing moral atmosphere, has also given us the "penny 'orrible" and the "pictures,' failing at the same time to give us a good and useful elementary education for the young workers.

elementary education for the young workers.

"The Young Worker" is a praiseworthy attempt, by a group of young workers, assisted by a capable editor, to supply young workers with some good and readable educational matter.

Sixtéen pages of interesting and elevating articles, in a convenient magazine size, even at 3d, should sell well, and we are looking forward with interest to the next issue for which, the whisper goes round, new interesting features are prepared.

We have received some very sympathetic and ap-recitative letters in response to our appeal, extracts om some of which we give below:— I value very much indeed the pioneer work done the Dreadmought in the court days, and from the

I value very much maced the power way to be read from t me to time I see articles there which are of the greatest educational value, that I don't see in any other paper. Yes, although I sometimes find very little time for reading the Dreadmought, if it ceased to be, I should miss it very much; but anyway, it must not be allowed to lapse, and so enclose really more than I can spare. Trust you will be successful in getting further financial support from your readers.

"I am sending this to say how deeply I regret it, but I have been out of employment for the last two months, and cannot send on any financial help as I should so much have liked to have done. "The Dreadnought has been an education and an inspiration to me, and I am sure all who read it will feel a big loss, especially now, if it has to cease publication.

"We devoutly hope that the *Dreadnought* will hold out until Miss Pankhurst comes out, and we hope that a good response will result from your appeal for funds. For the coming week we will undertake to make good whatever may be short of the £30 required."

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND.

Per E. Lagsding 10s, Mrs. Edmunds 10s, per E. Collins 2s 6d, A. J. Marriott 5s, A. Frayn 5s, E. Swift £1 5s, E. H. Fox 5s, Miss Widdicombe £1, Mrs Wyatt £3, C. Dunn 5s, J. Staples 9s, F. Dobson 2s 6d, per Mr. Pocock 12s 6d, S. A. Chandler £3, Hatfield Friends 1s 9d, M. Belkin £1, a Revolutionary 6s, L. Burgis 15s, S. N. Ghose 5s, C. Cole 5s, per S. Robihson 9s, L. Devereaux 5s, per M. Marsh 10s, G. L. Jones 5s, E. Gulland £1 1sa A. Holdsworth 10s, per A. C. Webb 6s 6d, R. C. 2s 6d, Redcap 5s, total £17 10s; grand total £81 1s 5½d.

THANKS.

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We are very grateful to the comrades who have helped us this week, especially that group which has promised to make good any deficit on the £30 this week. Who will follow their example, for the next few weeks?

One comrade says he will send 10s, a week if others will promise to do the same. Do not let us lose this offer! Another comrade has promised to send 10s. a month.

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